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LIVERPOOL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICE

YOUTHFUL LAWBREAKERS

A study of juvenile delinquency in Liverpool made by the Department of Social Science of the University of Liverpool.

TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE NETT

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF LIVERPOOL
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PREFACE

This report is based on evidence given by persons connected with voluntary and statutory organisations which have encountered the problem of juvenile delinquency in a variety of ways, and by specialists in the field of education and child care. Additional information was also collected in 1946 by Mr. J. Newman, M.A., whose services were made available to the Department of Social Science of the University of Liverpool for this purpose by a grant from the Liverpool Council of Social Service.

The aim of the report is to assemble material so as to make it accessible to the citizen, and to provide in this way the basis for an informed policy for the treatment of an urgent social problem rather than to throw new light on it.

It would be impossible to thank adequately the very many persons who contributed advice and information. Mention must, however, be made of the most helpful co-operation of the Chief Constable and his staff, who provided the original of the map and much of the material upon which this report is based, and the valuable assistance of the Director of Education. We also wish to thank Mr. J. H. Bagot and his publishers (Messrs. Jonathan Cape) for their permission to reprint the Graph on page 14.

One conclusion of this enquiry is that there remains a large field for further research. The Social Science Department will continue its interest in the subject and would be glad of the opportunity, if funds are made available, to investigate the problem of juvenile delinquency in years to come. The complexity and obscurity of the factors involved are such that any attempt to deal with them as they exist at any one time or by singling them out for special treatment one by one is quite useless. An attack on the problem, if it is to have a fair chance of success, must be both comprehensive and continuous.

T. S. SIMEY.

INTRODUCTION.

The importance of the problem of juvenile delinquency in Liverpool is immediately obvious. Reference to the reports of the Chief Constable show that since 1940 there have been about 2,000 children convicted of indictable offences each year, and an almost equal number have been convicted of non-indictable offences or have been cautioned. There is evidence in the streets of some of the problems behind this youthful law-breaking ; the soliciting of "teen-age prostitutes" in Lime Street and Park Lane ; the broken lamps and windows in the central area of the town ; the many neglected children who are to be seen playing in the gutters of the central area.

This study has been made at the request of the Liverpool Council of Social Service. Its purpose is to review the problem of juvenile delinquency in Liverpool, to consider its social causes, and to suggest remedies. In examining the problem it has become clear that there is no easy solution, and any policy which is to have a successful result will have to be operated for many years, and cover a wide range of social improvements. There is a great danger, indeed, that interest may be too easily and quickly aroused, only to flag and die out with equal suddenness leaving behind it a legacy of frustration and disillusionment. The search for an easy scapegoat may end in the discovery of the neglectful parent, or the weakened authority of the Church, but this leads us nowhere unless men of goodwill undertake the difficult and thankless task of promoting the social reforms that are required. Taken by themselves they are merely statements of the obvious. A certain interest in reform has been aroused in various spheres including the local newspapers, but the way in which it has been expressed can only be regarded as evidence of the fact that the subject is little understood and that many well-intentioned persons feel frustrated when attempting to deal with the problem.

It is perhaps salutory to recall that interest and study of the problem in Liverpool is of very long standing. As early as 1841 a study was made, another in 1842, and others in 1858 by Joseph Hubback, and the Reverend Thomas Carter,

then Chaplain of Liverpool Borough Gaol. These later studies were reported to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science at its Annual Conference. These researches drew attention to the social causes of delinquency, and to the responsibility of the City for the care and education of the young. Interest continued through the nineteenth century, and other papers on the subject were given at subsequent meetings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, in particular, at their conference in Liverpool in 1876.

Shortly before the war, public interest in the problem was again aroused by the increase in its incidence. This situation was studied by J. H. Bagot, M.A.,in his "Juvenile Delinquency" published in 1941. Since the war, a further increase in its extent has once more aroused public concern.

Juvenile delinquency is thus not a new problem in Liverpool. It is, however, a serious problem and one which has so far not responded to the attempts made to control it.

This study deals with the following topics :

A discussion of the legal definition of juvenile delinquency and the broader issues of juvenile behaviour.

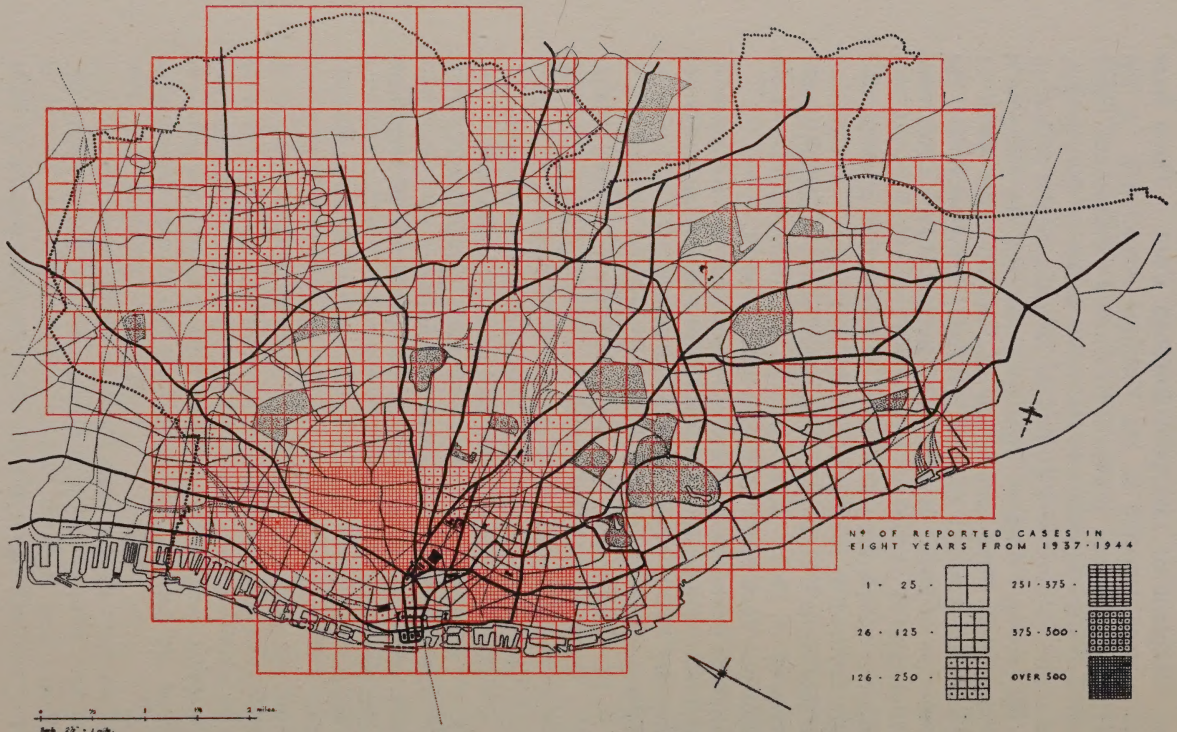
The social causes of juvenile delinquency.

The extent of juvenile delinquency in Liverpool.

The needs of children and young people and some special problems of the Liverpool area.

Some recommendations for action.

The report does not discuss the problems of treatment of the individual delinquent.



JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

CHAPTER I

The Problem of Juvenile Delinquency and its Social Causes.

Juvenile Delinquency : A Legal Definition.

"Juvenile Delinquency" is an expression most commonly used in a strictly legal sense ; as such it is applicable to children who have been convicted of certain types of offences. These offences are however only part of a much wider problem of anti-social behaviour by children and it is with this wider problem that this report is concerned. Nevertheless the legal definition is important since the statistical evidence is entirely limited to cases falling within its scope.

The legal definition contained in the Children and Young Persons Act of 1933 is precise ; it only extends to children aged eight to thirteen and young persons aged fourteen to sixteen on their last birthdays, who have been convicted of certain offences, of which the following are main types :—

1. *Offences against the person.* This category includes sexual offences, wounding, attempted suicides, etc.
2. *Breaking and entering.* Offences against property with violence.
3. *Larceny.* Offences against property without violence.
4. *Other offences against property.* Arson, damage, etc.

It should be observed that such offences as breaking of bye-laws, trespassing, and unlawful possession are not included, nor are cases of truancy or cases of juveniles in need of care and protection. This latter category covers a large proportion of the cases of girls who are in moral danger.

The limitations of the legal definition call for comment in several particulars. It would be unwise to accept, as a basis of social policy, the age limits of the legal definition, particularly as psychological evidence points to the overwhelming importance of the nursery years. It is also important to consider the problems of children who come before the Courts in need of care and protection, or in truancy cases.

These categories are not included in the legal definition. There are, as well, the children whose behaviour problems, though serious, do not bring them into conflict with the police or the education authority.

The Social Problem.

The behaviour problems of children (and of adults) are the results of the interaction of a great variety of physical, psychological, social and environmental factors. It may help to describe some of them.

i. The Inherited Qualities of The Child.

Although behaviour problems occur in children of normal physique and normal intelligence, social adjustment is more difficult for children with lower and higher intelligence. It is likewise more difficult for children who have physical defects or whose physique is abnormal. The problem has several aspects. That of the mentally subnormal child is the problem of understanding, that of children of higher intelligence is the problem of social adjustment, whereas the handicapped child may be subject to many kinds of emotional difficulties.

The mentally subnormal or abnormal child may have difficulty as a result of not understanding a complex social situation or not being able to adjust himself to a change in the environment. Or the child's difficulty may arise from the fact that he is being bored by academic teaching unsuited to his abilities.

The child of superior intelligence may find himself in an environment which gives him few opportunities to develop his powers, for example, in a class at school where the level of teaching may be adjusted to the majority or in a home where expense limits the development of special gifts. Circumstances such as these produce boredom and frustration.

The handicapped child's difficulties may arise from his consciousness of being different, and of being unable to participate in the activities of his fellows ; from a fear of ridicule and a feeling of being despised, and most of all, perhaps, from feeling unwanted or unloved.

ii. THE EARLY ENVIRONMENT OF THE CHILD.

The scientific study of childhood has resulted in an appreciation of the very great importance of the early years of life in determining the emotional balance of the person in later years. A precise understanding of the emotional factors is not yet clearly established, but the evidence is incontravertable.

Carr-Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes, in their study "Young Offenders"† found "a fairly well-marked degree of association between delinquency and families of abnormal structure". The importance of this finding is that the problems arise not from the structure of the family, as such, but from the emotional tension and instability of the family. This instability is evidenced in families in which, owing to death, separation, desertion or divorce, there is only one parent ; in families in which there is conflict between father and mother ; or where one or other of the heads is not a parent of the child, and in families in which there is cohabitation or prostitution.

John Bowlby, in his study of juvenile thieves*, showed that of five factors in the aetiology of juvenile stealing only one, the genetic factor, was not concerned with the emotional life of the child in early years. The factors were (1) genetic, (2) prolonged separation from mother or foster mother in the early years, (3) ambivalence and anxiety, (4) fathers who openly hate their children, and (5) recent events causing pain or grief.

Of the forty-four juvenile thieves studied, seventeen had suffered complete and prolonged separation from their mother or established foster-mother during the first five years of life extending over a period of six months or more.

Of the twenty-seven thieves who had not suffered early separation, seventeen had mothers who were either extremely anxious, irritable and fussy, or rigid, domineering and oppressive, traits which Bowlby states "in all cases mask much unconscious hostility". Five of the twenty-seven

†"*Young Offenders*". CARR SAUNDERS, MANNHEIM & RHODES. Cambridge University Press. 1942.

*"*Forty-four Juvenile Thieves. Their Character and Home Life*". JOHN BOWLBY. Balliere, Tindall & Cox. 1946.

had fathers who openly hated their children. A further five thieves had suffered experiences which had caused emotional disturbance ; four in connection with their mother's illness or death and one over the death of a brother. Six others had been seriously upset by a recent unhappy experience.

To refer back to the discussion of the mentally abnormal child it may be mentioned that the eighteen cases in which the "genetic factor" was present were children who had a parent or grandparent who was mentally ill.

The more obvious social evils have their effect also. Poverty, overcrowding and irregular employment, in part through the deprivation of food, clothing, privacy and play, and in part through the inevitable emotional conflicts which arise in a family which is denied the essentials of life, are all inevitable factors producing juvenile delinquency.

iii. The Later Environment of The Child.

After the third, fourth, or fifth year of life the child becomes subject to such wider influences as those of other children and adults, street and playground, and of school and other institutions. These influences may act in different ways. For example, in a community where theft is common, e.g. by living in association with the Liverpool docks the child may acquire attitudes toward property which will bring him into conflict with the Law. Likewise in areas where prostitution flourishes, the adolescent girl may be subject to serious dangers. In the same way, the presence of bad companions is a great danger to the impressionable child.

In another sense, the wider environment may influence the child by presenting opportunities for mischief. Many abandoned houses offer not only opportunities for looting but practice in breaking and entering. The absence of parks and playgrounds encourages boredom and frustration which may result in the child seeking the excitement of an escapade.

The child's contact with the adult world, particularly in school, is of vital importance, for it is there that the child learns most about our complicated social life. The backward child is often handicapped by overcrowded classes and a curriculum which again leaves him bored and frustrated.

The prevention of juvenile delinquency demands a

programme which takes into account its many causes and which recognises that in each case there may be several factors at work. The ending of the war and the re-establishment of many homes on a normal basis may be expected to make an important contribution, but the final solution lies in positive planning for the improvement and strengthening of the institutions which have most influence upon the the child, and for the improvement of the social environment.

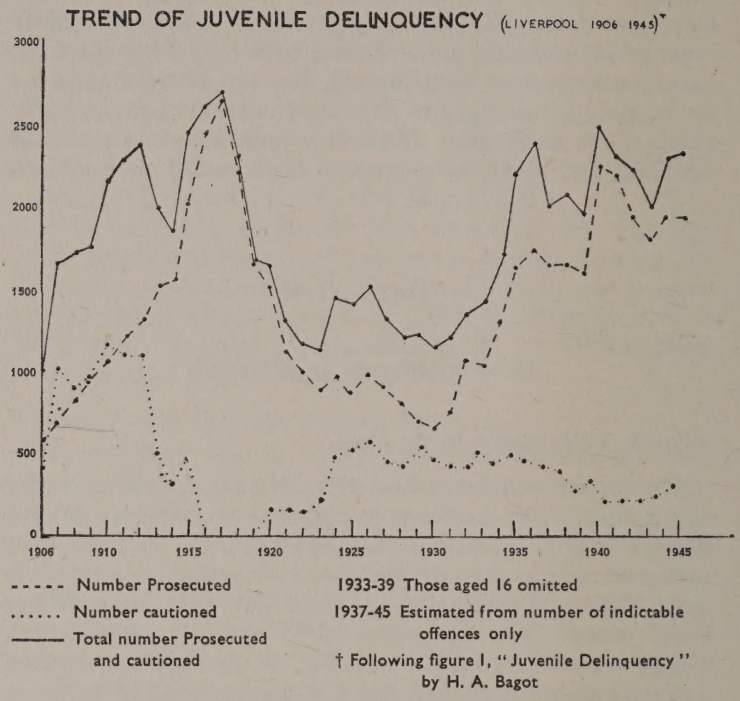
CHAPTER II.

Juvenile Offences in Liverpool.

Juvenile Delinquency in the Past.

The present problem of juvenile delinquency will be better appreciated if its incidence in the past is studied. In Mr. Bagot's study, "Juvenile Delinquency", a diagram was presented which showed the trend of juvenile delinquency from 1906 until the beginning of the war. This diagram has been redrawn here and extended to cover the war period. (*Figure* 1). It shows the number of juveniles prosecuted and the number cautioned, but does not include the incidence of the non-indictable offences. It is thus only a partial figure. In discussing this diagram Mr. Bagot drew attention to the fact that the great changes in legislation in 1908 and 1933 had been accompanied by considerable increases in the incidence of juvenile delinquency, which he attributed to the increase of public interest. The assumption was that this increase in public interest resulted in police action taken in many cases which would have passed unreported or have been dealt with on the spot by the injured party. In interpreting the diagram, however, it is important to bear in mind other causes. The trend suggests that the incidence of juvenile delinquency is connected with the wider social problems of war and economic depression. Thus, juvenile delinquency increased at the time of the depression of 1908 and was a

Figure 1.



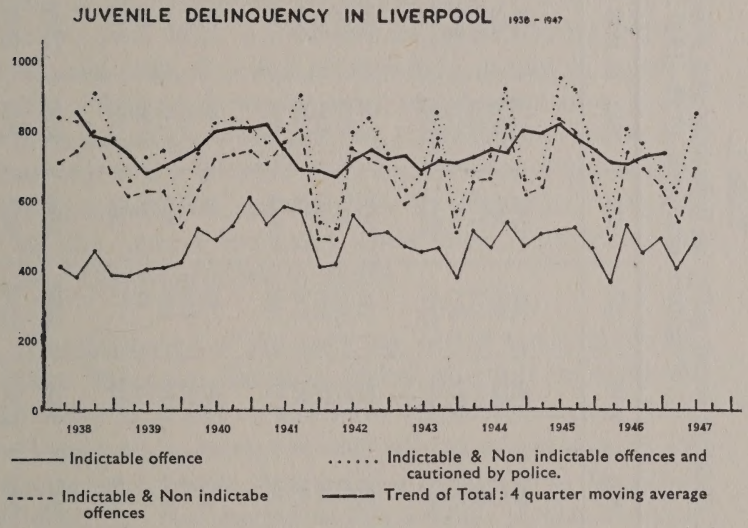
major problem in the last war ; the situation improved considerably in the period of post-war prosperity, but the extent of juvenile delinquency was high during a period of unemployment and industrial unrest culminating in the great strike of 1926. There was some improvement in the boom period, but with the depression of 1929, juvenile delinquency in this area increased rapidly in much the same way as unemployment. As the unemployment position improved with the recovery associated with re-armament there was some decrease in juvenile delinquency.

Bearing this history in mind, the war-time increase of juvenile delinquency could have been foreseen and, to a certain extent, might have been prevented by wise planning.

Juvenile Delinquency in Liverpool During the War.

Public attention has been concentrated on the statistics of indictable offences. The number of these offences reached a peak in 1940 and again in 1942, but has declined a little since. These returns, however, give a somewhat misleading impression. A better picture is given when the statistics of indictable and non-indictable offences and of juveniles cautioned by the police are studied together. As was pointed out by Mr. Bagot there is a negative correlation between the numbers of children cautioned and the numbers of children convicted of indictable offences ; thus when many children

Figure 2.



are convicted, few appear to be cautioned, and when many are cautioned less are convicted. The same is true of the incidence of indictable and non-indictable offences. It is not possible to account for this adequately, but it has been suggested that in many cases the decision as to whether an offence is indictable or non-indictable is dependent on the attitude of the Police at the time, and that the distinction is to some extent arbitrary. (*See Figure* 2 *and Table* 1)

Table 1.

The Numbers of Children found guilty of Indictable and Non-Indictable Offences, and the Numbers cautioned 1938—1947.

	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
Indictable										
1st quarter	413	390	521	543	413	476	521	512	370	409
2nd „	387	407	497	589	566	462	475	523	549	492
3rd „	460	411	535	577	510	474	549	529	454	
4th „	390	425	615	412	517	382	481	470	495	
Total ...	1650	1633	2168	2121	2006	1794	2026	2034	1878	
Non-indictable										
1st quarter	300	227	116	167	79	118	141	132	119	130
2nd „	359	223	243	187	190	162	194	323	194	206
3rd „	341	221	203	230	219	315	277	272	239	
4th „	295	100	134	79	186	130	133	205	144	
Total	1295	771	696	663	674	725	745	932	696	
Cautioned.										
1st quarter	128	49	97	61	30	36	29	26	72	90
2nd „	86	98	116	29	44	61	63	119	72	162
3rd „	113	114	106	102	118	75	114	126	83	
4th „	97	71	53	49	39	60	53	48	65	
Total	424	332	372	241	231	232	259	319	292	
Total Indictable and Non-Indictable	2945	2404	2868	2784	2680	2519	2771	2966	2574	
Total Indictable, Non-Indictable and Cautioned	3369	2736	3236	3025	2911	2751	3030	3285	2866	

In addition to the evidence supplied by the statistics of indictable and non-indictable offences there are cases of children in need of care and protection, and cases of truancy referred to the Court by the education authorities. The number of children in need of care and protection has fluctuated considerably during the war, as has the number of cases of truancy. The latter problem, however, was greatly complicated by the partial closing of schools and by evacuation.

A detailed picture of the cases of indictable and non-indictable offences and of children cautioned is given in Table 1. In interpreting the decline from 1938 to 1939, the rise to a peak figure in 1940, and the relative decline in 1941, 1942, and 1943, the effect of evacuation should be borne in mind. Table 2 shows the total school population, and it will be seen that in 1940 and 1941 it had fallen to a little over half what it was in 1939. Only a proportion of the children not at school were accounted for by evacuation. Thus in 1940 the number evacuated varied from 9,500 to 17,000 and in 1941 from 20,000 to 31,000.

The dislocation of the early war period had a number of effects. There were the many children who were not accounted for either at school or under the evacuation scheme. Most of them were at home and were missing school training and supervision. This is likely to have increased the dislocation of child life. Nor was evacuation a simple process, for there was a great deal of very temporary evacuation with an accompanying disturbance of the child and the school.

On the other hand, the children who were evacuated considerably reduced the total child population, and thus reduced the total number of potential juvenile offenders. It does, indeed, seem that some of the decline in the total

Table 2.

Juveniles on Rolls of Public Elementary Schools, 1938—1946.

Year	Number
1938	131,259
1939	127,768
1940	126,044
1941	72,198
1942	85,937
1943	103,729
1944	109,607
1945	109,915
1946	108,365

figures after 1940 is accounted for in this way. There is, however, an absolute increase in incidence in 1944 and 1945 particularly in the case of the indictable offences, the most serious category.

It is notable that the position in 1945 is not unlike that of 1938, the total figures being about the same, although in 1938 the number of indictable offences was lower and the number of non-indictable offences and juveniles cautioned was higher. To complete the comparison, it may be said that in 1938 there were 147 cases of children in need of care and protection compared with 128 in 1945, but on the other hand the number of cases of truancy referred to the Court were 859 in 1945 compared with 223 in 1938. This difference would be expected in view of the severe dislocation of the education service during the war period.

Although the total number of cases thus appears to be about the same as in 1938, the position is in fact worse because the juvenile population had been reduced by about one-seventh.

Indictable Offences.

The groups of indictable offences are the most serious. They are offences against the person, breaking and entering, larceny, and other offences against property. These have increased in number from 1650 in 1938, and 1633 in 1939 to something over 2,000 at which level they have remained throughout the war except for the year 1943. But as this apparent stability does not take account of the reduction in the number of young people, the proportion of juveniles convicted of indictable offences thus shows an increase. In 1938 it was 1.3% of all juveniles between eight and sixteen years of age, and in 1945, 1.9%. These offences are committed in the main by boys : the number of female offenders has in each year been less than two hundred, although during the war the proportionate increase amongst female offenders has been about double that of the males. The position is shown in Table 3.

Table 3.

The number of Juveniles found guilty of Indictable Offences (Liverpool) 1938—46.

Year	Male	Female	Total
1938	1551	99	1650
1939	1546	87	1633
1940	2010	158	2168
1941	1970	151	2121
1942	1826	180	2006
1943	1638	156	1794
1944	1885	141	2026
1945	1894	140	2034
1946	1738	140	1878

Of the four categories of indictable offences, breaking and entering (offences against property with violence), and larceny, (offences against property without violence), account for the majority of those committed by juveniles. These categories covered 97.8% of all cases in 1944 and 93.2% of all cases in 1945.

Of all the indictable offences breaking and entering are regarded by the law as the most serious. It will be seen that the proportion of these offences has increased considerably during the war period.

Table 4.

Proportion of Breaking and Entering Offences to all Indictable Offences.

Year	%
1938	28
1939	32
1940	32
1941	41
1942	41
1943	39
1944	37
1945	42
1946	38

Age of Offenders.

Any study of the age of offenders is difficult owing to the fact that the essential information about the age composition of the total juvenile population is not available in detail. The age composition of offenders shows certain changes in that there has been an increase in the proportion of offenders between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. This is not the result of an increase in the proportion of juveniles in these age groups, which suggests that the problem of the adolescent is one of particular importance at the present time.

Table 5.
Ages of Juveniles found guilty of Indictable Offences.

		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total
1938	%	4.1	7.6	10.1	11.8	14.4	13.0	12.8	13.1	13.0	100
1939	%	3.1	4.9	9.8	11.5	14.1	14.9	13.0	15.6	15.2	100
1940	%	4.8	7.2	10.1	13.8	13.0	13.2	12.2	13.7	12.1	100
1941	%	3.0	6.4	8.0	10.6	12.7	12.1	14.0	18.7	14.6	100
1942	%	2.4	5.9	8.6	10.3	10.7	13.5	14.7	17.8	16.2	100
1943	%	4.1	6.0	8.8	10.3	10.2	12.7	13.8	18.5	15.7	100
1944	%	4.8	8.9	10.1	11.4	10.9	11.9	11.8	14.8	15.5	100
1945	%	4.5	7.4	10.2	11.2	9.9	11.8	11.8	15.7	17.4	100
1946	%	4.0	7.3	10.1	11.5	13.3	11.9	12.4	13.5	16.0	100

Juvenile Gangs.

The problem of the juvenile gang is of special importance. Gangs appear to have a certain continuity over a long period, recruiting and losing members and often acting as a training and organising centre for juvenile delinquency. To quote the Chief Constable in his report for 1939/45, "These gangs are not organised under one leader like the gangs that formerly existed in the U.S.A., but nevertheless their members are willing to assist each other in carrying out crimes, intimidating potential witnesses against them or even providing perjured evidence to secure the acquittal of a prisoner". The fact that children form themselves into these loose associations may be taken as some evidence of a need for juvenile organisation.

The proportion of juveniles convicted of indictable offences who were members of such gangs ranged from 23%—37% during the war period.

In Liverpool gangs of juvenile delinquents are small. Most of the gangs are of five children or less and there has been no significant change in this pattern during the war.

Table 6

Proportion of Juvenile Delinquents Committing Offences in Gangs.

Year	Total Number Committing Indictable Offences	Proportion of those Committing Indictable Offences in Gangs
	Number	Percentage
1938	1650	32
1939	1633	37
1940	2168	36
1941	2121	24
1942	2006	25
1943	1794	23
1944	2026	36
1945	2034	31
1946	1878	33

Juvenile Offenders with a Previous History of Indictable Offences.

The proportion of all juvenile delinquents who have a previous history of conviction for indictable offences is very high, being over 40%. This figure has remained stable during the war but gradually increased in pre-war years, from 26% in 1935, to 31% in 1936, and 35% in 1937.

These facts indicate that the problem of treatment is one of great urgency.

Table 7

Proportion of Juvenile Delinquents with a Previous History of Indictable Offences.

Year	Total	Number with Previous History	Percentage with Previous History
1938	1650	615	32.7
1939	1633	665	40.7
1940	2168	844	38.9
1941	2121	860	40.5
1942	2006	854	42.5
1943	1794	723	40.3
1944	2026	833	41.1
1945	2034	860	42.3
1946	1878	753	40.2

Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in Different Areas of Liverpool.

In the above discussion of the causes and extent of juvenile delinquency over the last forty years attention has been directed to a complex of social causes acting on the child mainly through his home. The effects of these causes are to be seen in the distribution of juvenile delinquency in the different areas of the city.

It will be seen from the map presented that juvenile delinquency is in the main a problem of the older, overcrowded areas where the population is of mixed racial origin, and where exceptional degrees of poverty and casual employment are found. They are also areas where opportunities for mischief arise more frequently, and where there are few parks and playgrounds.

CHAPTER III

The Needs of Children and Young Persons and some Special Problems of the Liverpool Area.

In the above discussion of the trend of juvenile delinquency and its social causes many of the needs of children and young people have been stated by implication. It is now necessary to state these needs positively and to show what steps can be taken to meet them more adequately in future and to counteract as quickly as maybe the effects of past conditions and social evils which may take generations to eradicate completely.

Every child requires certain conditions for healthy physical, mental and emotional development. Emphasis has been placed both by central and local authorities on provision for promoting the physical well-being of the individual child, and propaganda has been directed towards this end. Again there is evidence in the field of adult education, and elsewhere, of a growing interest in the psychological factors influencing human behaviour. But there has been no general recognition of the necessity for education in the understanding of the child's emotional needs, although it is upon the satisfaction of these that good social adjustment will depend.

Since the responsibility for juvenile delinquency lies ultimately with the community, it is for the community to take steps to ensure the existence of these conditions, and not to ignore the indications of emotional disturbance until a symptom has become acute. It is within society that the child receives both his training and the opportunities for developing that sense of responsibility which will fit him for adult citizenship and deter him from anti-social activities. Delinquency is a reflection upon the society in which it is found. This chapter deals, therefore, with the basic problem of bringing children into a satisfactory relationship with the society in which they find themselves, rather than with the treatment of the individual child who has failed to achieve this relationship and so become labelled as a delinquent.

The Needs of the Child during the Nursery Years.

Psychological research has established beyond question the importance of the family group in a child's life. This is the child's earliest "environment" by which is meant not only his physical surroundings, but also all the events, happenings, and relationships which have meaning for him. Delinquency results from maladjustment between a child and his environment, and it is therefore necessary to consider the relationship between the two in the case of the juvenile offender. It is within the family that a child should grow towards independence, firmly based on a feeling of personal security. This will come about only if the child knows that he is loved, whatever his imperfections, and is respected as an individual with his own capacities and needs. The foundations of good social adjustment lie in the development of reciprocal affectionate relations early in life between a child and his parents. Not only, however, are unsatisfactory parent-child relationships a source of potential disturbance but as has been pointed out earlier, the inharmonious relationships of parents with each other, or abnormal home conditions, may affect fundamentally a child's character. Sound development of individual character and acceptable standards of social behaviour take place ideally within the family supported by the outside agencies who share in the care of the child. Where there is deprivation of parental care for any reason, such as absence, death or imprisonment, other adults who will base the child's training upon a deep affection are necessary to him if his development is to proceed satisfactorily.

Good habit formation should be emphasised in early training and has a two-fold aspect ; it makes life orderly, regular and safe for the child, bringing economy of effort for him since he has freedom within known limits, and it serves as a foundation for the growth of acceptable social attitudes. Consideration for others, the giving up of immediate in favour of long-term satisfactions, and respect for property, which are lacking in such a large proportion of delinquents, can only be built upon good early training.

It is recognised fully that the parents of some delinquents are themselves emotionally immature and have not a well-developed sense of social responsibility ; they lack the capacity to train their children adequately in the good habits which will lead later to adequate social conduct. There must be awareness of this problem; the results of the long-term measures suggested at the end of the present report should have a significant effect in due course, though it would be unwise to look for striking results save as a continuous process of development extending over two or three generations.

Parents have not been made sufficiently aware of the fundamental importance of play in the life of the pre-school child. The right kind of play materials are essential for sound and emotional development. A young child solves intellectual problems almost entirely by manipulation, and it is through the development of manual and muscular skills that he is able to gain mastery over his physical environment. A child's emotional difficulties are externalised through play, and thus he is better able to understand and to face them.*

Plastic and constructive play materials, expressive mediums and tools for hammering, cutting and grinding† are invaluable for the small child and help him both to develop skills and externalise his problems.

It is through living within the family respected for his individuality, receiving carefully planned habit training, (even discipline should be based on affection), and opportunities for free play, that the child is given the best opportunities for beginning to make a satisfactory social adjustment, for out-growing the selfishness of infancy and achieving the altruism which will help him to take his place naturally and confidently in any group outside the family circle.

The emphasis of the many voluntary and statutory services catering for expectant mothers, for infants, and for young children is on their physical well-being, and, although at every

*e.g. A child, terrified by the thought of immunisation against diphtheria, may play at hospital for days together and thus work through her difficulties.

†Plasticine, sand, water, blocks, paint, crayons, mallets, scissors with rounded ends, etc.

stage much advice and guidance about child education and training is given, this is not one of the main purposes of these organisations.

The possibilities of using existing clinic services for parental education has been realised by such voluntary bodies as the Liverpool Child Welfare Association and the Liverpool Catholic Children's Protection Society. A quotation from the 1944 report of the Liverpool Child Welfare Association is an indication of this.

> " What is perhaps the most vital part of our work, but certainly the least spectacular is concerned with the child whose parents have lost all interest in the amenities of life, who are content to live in dirt and squalor, the family neglected, and the mother herself nervy and apathetic. Frequently it is not a case of cruelty or neglect so much as that the mother has given up the struggle and has become indifferent. The visitor goes into the home as a friend, not by right, she must walk warily and gain the confidence of the mother (or of both parents, if the father is at home), she must, through her own personality, persuade her to **want** better things and help her to get those better things."

The work of the Child Welfare Clinics of the Local Authority has a four-fold aim of instructing mothers in the care and feeding of infants and children, supervising progress of the young child, while at the same time preventing unnecessary illness due to ignorance, and assisting in restoring the mother to health and establishing natural feeding. Instruction is also given on hygiene and the making of children's clothes. Although in practice the work of the clinics is not as narrow as this description, more attention should be paid in both ante-natal clinics and child welfare clinics to systematic instruction of mothers in the emotional needs of the child and its pre-school training. This requires staff trained in the knowledge of the psychological needs of the child to undertake this additional work.

The Health Visitors' Department has already very considerable responsibilities for children, but these again are mainly limited to the physical needs of the child, although

the duties of the Health Visitor include child life protection under the Public Health Act, 1936. The work of the Health Visitor could be improved if she, too, were trained to teach parents, in their own homes, about the emotional problems of the child. It is realised, of course, that this would add considerably to her duties but it must be emphasised that this work is particularly important as the Health Visitor has access to many children whose parents are not sufficiently interested to go to the clinic.

The nursery school can play an important part in the emotional adjustment of the very young child. It often takes him out of an unsatisfactory home environment, provides him with essential play material and gives training which is beyond the scope of the over-burdened mother. At the same time the relief to the mother is a help to her own emotional adjustment. The contact between the nursery school staff and the mother can also be a valuable source of parental education.

All these suggestions are for the informal education of the parents over a period of years, and it is therefore important that all the workers in the health services and the teachers in nursery schools and classes should have a training with a common background of psychological knowledge.

The Child of School Age.

As the child grows older the family can be aided in its work by the school. It is essential for the all-round growth of the child that home and school should work together. Lack of success in school work may be due to retarded or defective intellectual development, but it may be caused equally by emotional difficulties which prevent a child from using his capacities to the full. In order that symptoms of nervousness or delinquency may be prevented in children who are not adjusting well to school life, early recognition of maladjustment is necessary. The ascertainment of mental defect, assessment of the degree of dullness and backward-

ness, discovery of physical defect or of emotional instability, should come as early as possible in a child's life. For all this, skilled diagnosis is necessary. The school medical service deals with the physical aspect of the problem, and it is now recognised among Education Authorities that a complete school psychological service is necessary. It is to be hoped such provision will be given priority in Liverpool so that a fully staffed service may make provision for the recognition and treatment of psychological disturbances and intellectual defects and difficulties.

The classification of children into different groups according to their intellectual abilities has already been carried a long way in Liverpool schools but there is still room for improvement in the curricula and teaching methods employed in the classes for dull children in some schools. On the other hand, in some Liverpool schools very fine work is being done and steps should be taken to bring all schools to the level of the best.

School feeding and other provision in schools have added clerical and administrative duties to the already heavy work of the teacher. It is to be hoped that schools in future will be provided with the necessary auxiliary staff so that teachers may be able to devote more of their time and energies to creating a satisfactory emotional relationship with the child.

One of the outstanding characteristics of juvenile delinquents is their lack of constructive and creative interests and there the school can make a valuable contribution. Educationists have been disturbed that so many children lose the knowledge they have gained so quickly after leaving school, and show but little evidence of hobbies and interests carried on after they have begun work. Continued education may provide a remedy for this deficiency, but there can be little doubt that many primary schools, at the present time, with large classes and often inadequate buildings, cannot stimulate children to develop and pursue interests which will enable them to enjoy their leisure in an active rather than a passive way.

At the present time the connection between home and school is, for the most part, very tenuous, and developments have been sporadic, although there have been successful parent-teacher associations in even the most unpromising areas of Liverpool. The suggestion that School Welfare Officers should be appointed has already been made by the Director of Education and it is to be hoped that this new link will be developed with all speed, and that the officers will be associated with the parent-teacher associations in order that they may have the widest possible influence. There is room for much more pioneer work and experiment in this sphere.

There can be no doubt that direct training for citizenship in schools should be more widely undertaken if the children are to develop a civic pride. The majority of children have but little knowledge of their own locality, and there is a place for more experiments in the development of civic responsibility among our young people by making visits of observation as is already done in some Liverpool schools, the building up of simple social surveys and the use of methods of visual education.

Comment has been made elsewhere on the significance of the gang among juvenile delinquents and, if this gang spirit is to find an outlet through acceptable social channels, more attention must be paid to the part played by the group in the normal development of the child. The middle years of childhood are recognised as being the age at which relations with the group play an important part. The school can make a valuable contribution to the development of such group activity. Feelings of competition and rivalry, for instance, are very strong in the child of eight to thirteen years and the school can help to socialise these urges at the time when they most need direction. Research in the educational field is necessary here, and it is hoped that early recognition will be given to investigation into the group aspect of social adaptation.

The Leisure of Young People.

Children who have an interesting life at school and at home are able through hobbies, games and social activities to enjoy their leisure time and to develop their personalities in so doing.

Youth service makes a very considerable contribution to the leisure life of the child by the provision of clubs and other social organisations like the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and the young peoples groups attached to religious bodies.

The youth service suffered considerably during the war, particularly from the lack of trained leaders and the difficulties of obtaining essential equipment.

Most young people's organisations in Liverpool are affiliated to the Liverpool Federation of Boys' Clubs, and the Liverpool Union of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs. The membership of clubs, thus affiliated, is about 20,000, and there are some 4,000 children in groups that are not affiliated, including about 1,000 children in organisations run by the Liverpool Co-operative Society. The total membership of boys and girls in affiliated clubs is about equal.

Youth Service caters mainly for the child who has left school, particularly children between the ages of 14 and 16 of whom about one/sixth belong to some youth organisation. After the age of sixteen the proportion of children who are club members decreases with each year, and it is about one in fourteen of those between sixteen and twenty.

The boys' and girls' club may play an especially important part in the child's life because it has facilities which appeal to a wide range of the child's interests and because it is available during a large part of the child's leisure time. It was suggested many times during this investigation that the value of a club was greater if it was open every night of the week and it was therefore considered appropriate to find out what the general situation was. It has been suggested, further, that the need for clubs is greater on some evenings than others. For the child with an unsatisfactory home, conditions are often at their worst at the week-end, especially on Sunday night.

It has also been found that the incidence of juvenile delinquency is higher on certain days than on others. It was not possible to obtain information for the present period, but it is understood that Mr. Bagot's information about the percentage distribution of offences on the various days of the week is still substantially correct :

> " It is found that Sunday with 22 per cent is easily the worst day, Wednesday with some 15 or 16 per cent coming next. Friday with 9 per cent has the smallest proportion. The high proportion on Sunday is accounted for by the extremely large number of breaking offences committed on that day—40 per cent of all breakings committed by children and over 30 per cent by young persons occurred on Sunday. Many premises are, of course, unoccupied at the weekend ; and this is also a factor in the midweek rise on Wednesday, the early closing day.*

In order to see if club meetings had planned with these problems in mind, information was obtained about the number of nights that clubs opened for one hundred and eighteen of the hundred and nineteen affiliated boys' clubs and one hundred and three of the hundred and twenty-seven affiliated mixed and girls' clubs. It was found that only twenty-three of the boys' clubs opened every night of the week and only three of the girls' clubs, the bulk of the clubs opening for one, two or three nights. (Table 8)

Table 8.

Number of Nights on which Clubs are open.

	Once a Fort-night	Once a Week	Twice a Week	3 times a Week	4 times a Week	5 times a Week	6 times a Week	Every Night
Boys	2	9	25	25	17	9	8	23
Girls	—	43	20	17	9	6	5	3
Total	2	52	45	42	26	15	13	26

*BAGOT, J. H. *Juvenile Delinquency*. p.39.

On considering the nights of the week on which clubs are open, the most striking feature is the small proportion of clubs that are open on Saturday and Sunday nights, particularly in the case of girls' and mixed clubs. So far as juvenile delinquency is concerned this would seem to be most unfortunate, since the weekend is the occasion of greatest need as Mr. Bagot's figures have already demonstrated. However, whether the attractions of the youth movement as at present constituted would rival those of the streets must remain an open question until the experiment has been tried on a large scale. Mr. Bagot's high figure of breaking offences on Wednesdays in comparison with the large proportion of clubs open on that evening, indicates that there is room for doubt on this point.

Table 9

Nights of the Week on which Clubs are open.

	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.	Total
Boys	93	69	93	72	86	41	42	115
Girls	37	44	37	46	28	15	16	100
Total	130	113	130	118	114	56	58	215

These returns refer to the winter period. In the summer many of the clubs are closed for a much greater proportion of the week because the club leaders are supervising the out-door activities of their members in parks and playing fields. This additional closing of premises is mainly due to lack of staff and helpers.

Not enough is known of the therapeutic value of specific activities likely to appeal to young people for comment to be made on the type of activity undertaken by youth organisations. What, for example, would be of equal value as an emotional outlet to a gang of youngsters who smash windows on a new housing estate? There is an urgent need for a

development of the theory and practice of play therapy which is at present chiefly confined to young children, and above all, for an appreciation of its importance by those actively concerned in youth work.

Parks and Playgrounds.

The connection between delinquency and the need for further provision of play space and equipment for recreation and sport hardly needs emphasising, but reference must be made to Liverpool's special problem of unequal distribution. It is in the areas where juvenile delinquency is most frequent that there are fewest open spaces available for children's play.

Before the war, certain school playgrounds were kept open during the summer months in the congested areas of the city in order to meet at least partially the deficiency of open spaces, but because of war conditions these have had to be closed. However, there are now approximately twenty-seven play centres in the city which use playgrounds for organised games in the summer months, and the school premises for indoor activities during the winter. In addition, there are some fourteen children's open-air gymnasia in the central area, most, but not all, of which are open on Sunday. The one hundred and thirteen parks in Liverpool do not cater at all adequately for the needs of children, only forty-four of them being equipped with gymnastic apparatus for children, while many could be improved by greater provision of sand pits and paddling pools for free play. There is no doubt that, in the main, Liverpool parks have been designed as pleasure gardens for adults rather than as play centres for children. The distribution of playing fields, too, leaves much to be desired. Nearly half of the eighty-two cricket pitches are in Wavertree playground and Walton Clubmoor.

It is easier to point out the mal-distribution of open spaces than to suggest remedies. No sweeping scheme is practicable, and progress will only be achieved by a constant watchfulness in seizing every opportunity, both large and small, and by an inventiveness which is quick to see new possibilities. The provision of river beaches and of cheap transport are two

examples already demonstrated on Merseyside : the play-streets of Salford prove that inspiration can equally be found elsewhere. Consideration should be given to the re-planning of parts of parks and recreation grounds to provide scope for childish adventure and fantasy, following up the imaginative experiment of the provision of a ship, "The Jolly Roger," which used to be in Sefton Park.

Some of the opportunities presented by bombed sites in many areas of the city for playgrounds are being made use of, but much more could be done, and it should be possible in the inevitable replanning of the city to ensure that no considerable area is left without adequate provision for children's play.

The Leisure Problem of the Young Delinquent.

Little has been said so far about the leisure problems of the young delinquent. It has been observed that juvenile delinquents as a group are less generally interested and less lively than non-delinquents, and are, therefore, more difficult to organise. (Carr-Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes, p. 151)

There is a great deal of goodwill towards the child in trouble within the youth service movement, much of which has not as yet been applied to the problem.

To discover the attitudes of the leaders of youth clubs to young offenders the Department of Social Science addressed a series of questions to a random sample of 250 leaders drawn from the list published by the Liverpool Education Committee. One hundred and fifty-nine replies were received. These replies show that only one of the club leaders was unwilling to allow a member, found guilty at a juvenile court to continue membership ; sixty-nine were willing to allow such a member to continue under certain conditions and eighty-four were willing to allow a member to continue without conditions. Only four club leaders were unwilling to accept a child who had been corrected as a new member, seventy-four were willing to accept a new member under certain conditions, and seventy-four were willing to accept such a child unconditionally. (See Tables 10 and 11).*

*This material will be discussed at length in a separate study.

Table 10

The Attitude of 159 Youth Club Leaders to a Member Convicted at a Juvenile Court

Attitudes	Number of Boys Club Leaders	Number of Girls Club Leaders	Number of Mixed Club Leaders	Total
Unwilling to allow continued membership	1	0	0	1
Willing to allow continued membership under certain conditions	24	20	25	69
Willing to allow continued membership with no conditions	28	28	28	84
Incomplete questionnaires				5
			Total	159

Table 11

The Attitude of 159 Youth Club Leaders to a Child who has been convicted at the Juvenile Court and applies for Club Membership.

Attitudes	Number of Boys Club Leaders	Number of Girls Club Leaders	Number of Mixed Club Leaders	Total
Not willing to admit delinquent as a member	2	1	1	4
Willing to accept delinquent as a member under certain conditions	30	25	19	74
Willing to accept a delinquent as a member unconditionally	19	25	30	74
Incomplete Questionnaires				7
			Total	159

In Liverpool, a venture which has a bearing on the problem of the difficult child has been made in the experimental club for juniors at the Rodney Rooms. This club has been designed to cater for a large class of children lacking satisfactory interests or social experience from which many delinquents come.

The Young Worker.

The adolescent needs assistance in effecting the change from school to work, in selecting his job and undertaking training for it, and in developing adult interests in place of childish ones.

Ideally his job should provide him with work within his physical and intellectual scope, in a healthy environment, with reasonable security of tenure and prospects of advancement. Much juvenile employment fails in several of these respects, and this is true particularly of the temporary jobs in the distributive trade. Blind alley occupations are, in part, the result of unsatisfactory organisation, such as restrictions on entry into apprenticeship until aged 16, and, in part, to parental pressure on children to earn the maximum wage at the earliest possible age. Again, the variety and quality of jobs open to juveniles depends on the variety of local industries, and here problems of national planning are involved.

The transference from school to employment is the concern of the school and the Juvenile Employment Committee. This Committee in the past has had a limited programme of after care and industrial supervision, but much more co-operation with employers is needed if satisfactory conditions are to be ensured.

The Juvenile Employment Committee have excellent arrangements for school conferences, and the placing of children is done by reference to their scholastic records and with evidence of their temperamental and other qualities. Impressive as these arrangements are, it is to be hoped that when the school psychological service is instituted, this service will operate with the Juvenile Employment Bureau so that placing may be assisted by the use of psychological tests of intelligence, aptitudes and temperament.

The arrangements for visits to local works and factories are excellent. This should be extended so that all children have such opportunities before entering employment.

It is a matter of regret that during the war the After-care Committee had to limit its activities to providing consultative services for those juveniles interested enough to attend. It is to be hoped that in the future there will be a service of welfare officers who will follow up young workers to make sure that they are in satisfactory employment.

The illuminating report issued by the Juvenile Employment Committee for the year ending July 1945 calls attention to many problems which have a bearing on the welfare of the juvenile and his adjustment in employment. The Committee points out that during the war many children have been forced into occupations for which they were not suitable " and denied entry into the work of their choice and for which they were suitable by aptitude and ability." The many boys who desired skilled apprenticeship in building and engineering were unable to enter these occupations. The Committee calls attention to the fact that " many juveniles, compelled to remain in uncongenial employment owing to reasons over which they have no control, tend to lose interest and initiative, while some, due to a sense of frustration, become discontented and anti-social."

The Committee's report calls attention to the fact that there is a group of children who change their jobs frequently and have " a general unsettled attitude." These are children whose emotional problems are of the same character as those who are to be found in the ranks of the juvenile delinquent.

In studying the report of the Juvenile Employment Committee it was interesting to note the wide choice of occupation open to the secondary school child, and in contrast, the limited field of openings available to the elementary school child. It is to be hoped that with universal secondary education much of the frustration which has been involved in the past will disappear.

A consideration of the problems of juvenile employment, and their relation to juvenile delinquency suggests that this problem is one for joint action by the schools, the Juvenile

Employment Committee, and employers and Trade Unions throughout the area, but this can only be really effective if the question is subject to national planning in its widest sense.

The raising of the school leaving age and the proposals for part-time education and further full-time education should be of particular assistance in that it will eliminate the gap between fourteen and sixteen years which for many children is a demoralising period of " futureless " employment, and make for a more gradual change from school to work.

CHAPTER IV

Conclusion
Some Recommendations for Action.

Scientific research into the problems of child behaviour has established that the anti-social act of which juvenile delinquency is an important type is largely the result of the emotional maladjustment of the child to its family, school, job or even to the whole of its social setting. This basic maladjustment may be made worse by failures of training and by bad environmental conditions.

The problem in Liverpool is one of very long standing and the increase that has taken place in the amount and seriousness of juvenile delinquency during the war should not be allowed to obscure this fact.

The conclusions of this study are that :—

1. Juvenile delinquency is not an isolated problem, but is one of the many evils which arise from bad social conditions. It has been shown to increase with unemployment and in times of industrial unrest and war. Its incidence has been shown to be highest in those parts of the city where poverty is greatest and housing conditions are worst.
2. The juvenile delinquent is the child who falls into a special category, created by legal definition, but is in

fact one of a larger group of children with emotional difficulties which result in social maladjustment.

3. The solution of the problem of juvenile delinquency lies in a long term policy of social betterment, the provision of full employment, regular work, good housing and a satisfactory environment. Within this wide framework the special needs of children must be considered. A most important problem is to ensure that the psychological needs of the child, i.e. affection and security, are fully met.
4. Juvenile delinquency is a deep rooted problem that will take many years to eradicate, even under favourable conditions, but this should not be allowed to detract from the importance of immediate action. There is a wide field of preventative action, and an important task of public education which can be initiated at once.
5. The immediate responsibility for action along these lines in Liverpool lies with the citizens as a whole. This means, in practice, those public spirited persons who head voluntary movements, the members of voluntary organisations, members of the Council and its committees, and the staffs of local and central government departments.

In this enquiry the point has been made that there is already a very great deal being done for the welfare of children and young people. What is most striking about this provision is that it is administered through a large number of departments of central and local government and by voluntary organisations which have no generally agreed policy or plan of action. This has resulted in gaps in provision and in many opportunities being lost.

It is therefore suggested that a **Committee should be formed representing all the statutory and voluntary organisations who have an interest in the child and adolescent;** and should consider the recommendations set out below as the basis of a policy for the welfare of children and young people. Juvenile delinquency will then be seen in truer perspective as one amongst many of the unfortunate results of present social

conditions, and the existing tendency to segregate certain children into a delinquent group will be replaced by a policy directed to the general welfare of children and adolescents.

A Policy for the Welfare of Children and Young People.

The policy described here outlines some suggested improvements mainly through the development of existing services.

i. Parental Education.

The conditions of the first five years of a child's life are most important in their effect on its emotional adjustment. It is important, therefore, that parents should understand the emotional problems of childhood. The local authority has many opportunities through its health department to undertake the education of the parents, especially the mother, in this subject, and it is suggested that this work should be a specific function of the Ante-Natal Clinic, the Maternity Service, the Child Welfare Service and the Health Visitors Service. This may call for additional staff and will certainly require that existing staff receive additional training.

Parental education through lectures, talks and printed matter should also be undertaken.

There is a special field of parental education—that of the "Problem Family" in which much more than advice and exhortation is required. In many instances these families require assistance and supervision.

ii. The Needs of the Young Child Outside the Home.

The function of the nursery class and school is important. It is suggested that extensions of this service can help not only by relieving the mother of work and by assisting in the child's training, but also in giving the mother continuous advice and guidance.

The play needs of the pre-school child should be provided for in the parks and open spaces. For the very young, shelter and supervision are necessary, as well as play material of which sand and water are perhaps the first essential. This group of children does not need large spaces, so that provision for them should be less difficult than for the older child. The supervision of young children's play might be a field for voluntary service.

iii. The Child of School Age.

The education system of Liverpool is in process of change and re-organisation, and it should be remembered that many of the proposed changes are bound to have important effects on the problems of the maladjusted child. The maximum possible support should therefore be given to the Education Department in this work. The most important proposals are for smaller classes, for the provision of additional clerical and domestic help, for a full school psychological service and a service of child guidance clinics, and for the services of school welfare officers. These officers, like the workers in the ante-natal, infant welfare and health services, should have training in the principles of child psychology, so that they give their advice from a common background of knowledge. Liverpool has done pioneer work in he development of the parent-teacher association in a poor neighbourhood. It is to be hoped that this movement will be developed with the satisfaction of the emotional needs of children as one of its central purposes.

The needs of the school age child at play should be considered as part of an overall plan of leisure-time provision. It is suggested that the planning of parks and playgrounds should be the responsibility of an authority primarily concerned with the welfare of the child. Provision for more parks is needed in many areas, and almost all the existing parks could be improved by the provision of apparatus and play facilities. The beginning, already made, in using bomb-cleared sites as playgrounds should be extended. Supervision for many games is also urgently needed.

An almost untried remedy has been the junior youth organisation, but where such work has been done, results suggest that by offering facilities for the use of leisure, much might be done to redeem defects in the child's surroundings. Even if circumstances permitted it, there is grave doubt whether this should be brought about by asking the teacher to do more for the school child (as has been suggested by some authorities) in taking an active part in the encouragement of such outside interests as games in the park, or hobbies under the auspices of a youth organisation. Questions of leadership, and discussions as to whether such junior organisations should come within the scope of the school authority or the voluntary associations could most usefully be considered by the proposed Committee.

iv. The Adolescent.

The problems of the adolescent have been seen to be centred in the change from school to work and the transfer of interests to adult subjects. Adequate provision for these needs is already visualised but much remains to be done, some of which is beyond the scope of local authorities and voluntary agencies, and calls for action on a national scale.

In the first task, that of the transfer of the child from school to work, the Juvenile Employment Committee is already doing excellent work. This work could, however, be improved by scientific methods of job analysis and personnel selection, developed as part of the school psychological service.

The after-care work of the committee, which was greatly reduced during the war, should now be extended as a matter of urgency. It should be emphasised again that the workers in this field should have a training with a similar background to that of other workers in the health and education service.

The greatest problems of the young worker are, however, the unsatisfactory conditions of employment and the lack of variety in jobs. Much could be done if employers would plan their labour policy in consultation with those responsible for the welfare of young people.

This enquiry has not adequately studied the problems of youth organisations. However, it was found that many of them did not open all the week or even on the days (Friday, Saturday and Sunday) when the child with the unsatisfactory home had most need of occupation. It is suggested that the whole question of days of opening of clubs should be considered as a matter of urgency.

Little is known of the leisure needs of adolescents and these should be the subject of further study.

v. The Problems of Special Areas of the City.

Recognition should be given in considering concrete schemes to the prior needs and special problems of the central area of the city.

vi. Research and Experiment.

Continuous study of the whole situation should be made, and experiment initiated where desirable and practicable. At several points in this enquiry the need for additional information has been pointed out, and lines of enquiry or experiment indicated.

Postscript.

Soon after this report was commenced a towns committee on juvenile delinquency was set up representing a very large number of organisations both statutory and voluntary.

This committee has been at work for a year and has initiated positive action in a variety of fields with conspicuous success. It has been a centre of information and guidance as well as a means of stimulating the activities of other groups.

Its main work so far has been in the field of public education in connection with which a poster campaign has been organised, a series of short films made and, through the combined efforts of the churches, a visit paid to every family in the city. Members of the Committee have addressed many meetings and spoken on numerous public occasions.

The attention of the Committee is now being turned to child welfare in other fields, for example in the development of parent teacher associations.

The city has much to be proud of in the fine work of the men and women who are serving the community in this way, and who have so admirably prepared the way for further action.

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